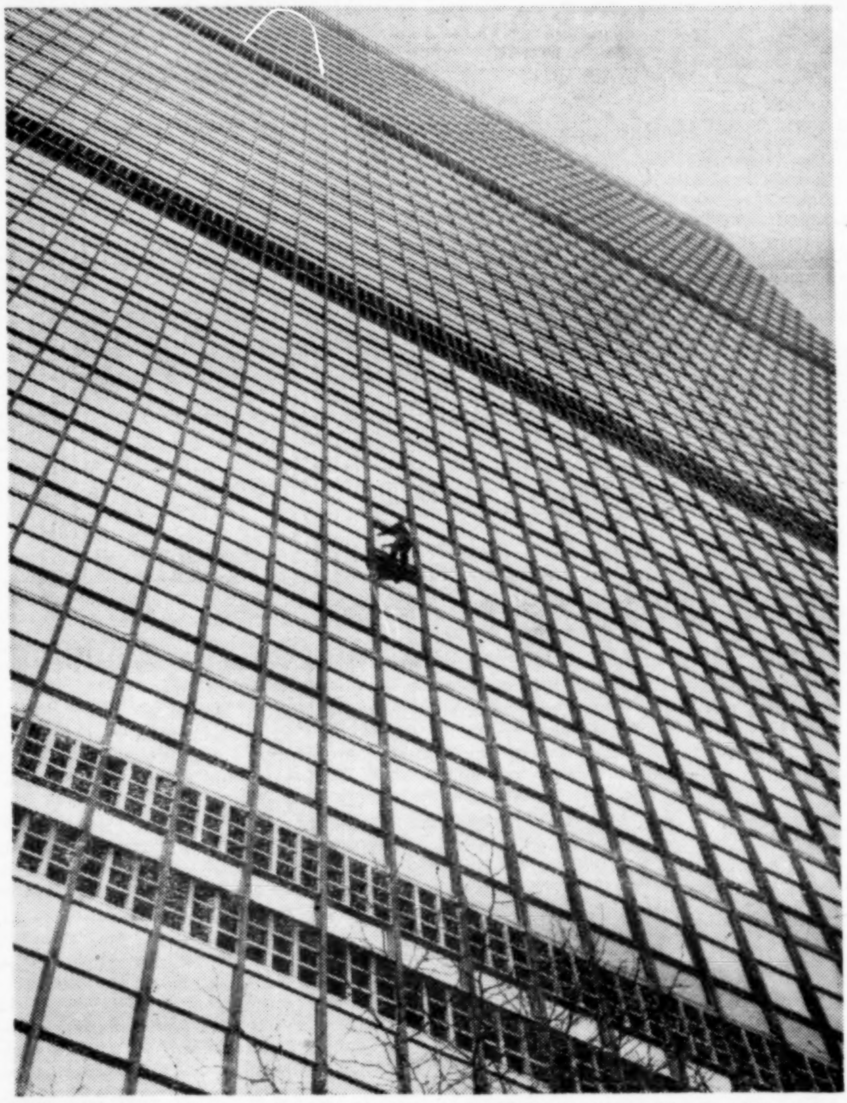
THE POMEROY CASE: A CHALLENGE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE . . . Pages 6-8



'WHOSE HOUSE IS OF GLASS MUST NOT THROW STONES AT ANOTHER'
A good slogan for the UN (pictured above) but not adhered to in the disarmament debate (see below) and many other matters. But light does come in at times (see p. 3) and as long as the windows remain unbroken there is always hope.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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WASHINGTON HOLDS THE KEY

The Cubans in exile: They plot in U. S. to overthrow Castro

By Robert E. Light

A FEW MILES from Florida's posh playgrounds, in downtown Miami, men gather in rundown bars and restaurants and scheme to overthrow Fidel Castro's revolution in Cuba. Over stale beer, they hatch plots and unhatch them. They form mythical cabinets and quarrel over who shall head what ministry. Some of the foolhardy sail for Cuba as "liberators" only to die in the hills or before a firing squad.

When the beer has run out, the plotters go home to squalid quarters and return to their scheming the next day. There are no jobs for them in recession-hit Florida; their occupation is counter-revolution. They are the sad sacks of the counter-revolutionary army that pretends it can overthrow Castro.

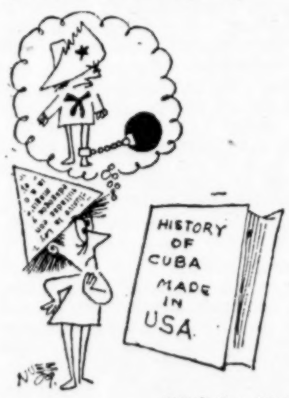
In more luxurious settings, rich men, military men and suave opportunists—the "chiefs of staff"—manipulate the misguided for personal gain. Their goal is power; their principle is money.

In sum, these are the Cuban exiles who John F. Kennedy said "offer eventual hope of overthrowing Castro" and for whom he advocated full U.S. support.

PAPER TIGER: In many ways they resemble the East European exiles who used to haunt the late John Foster Dulles' anteroom. Their pitch is the same: give us money and arms and we will sweep the communists from power, the people back home are awaiting our signal. Most of the Cuban exiles, like their European counterparts, are frauds. They are throwbacks to former dictatorships, fully discredited at home. They play the anti-communist theme because they know that is what Washington wants to hear.

Eventually Washington tired of the European pretenders. Their major function now is to organize hysterical picket lines around visiting Russians. The Cuban exiles fear a similar fate. Time runs against them. They promise to

(Continued on Page 10)


HISTORY OF CUBA MADE IN USA

Revolucion, Havana

EAST-WEST DIFFERENCES AT UN DEEP-GOING

Neutrals seek to ease disarmament impasse

By Kumar Goshal

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

DISARMAMENT DEBATE in the UN General Assembly's Political Committee seemed headed toward an impasse. The more the delegates talked the clearer it became that East and West were talking about two different subjects.

Many UN members, listening to statements by the Republican and Democratic Presidential aspirants and by U.S. advocates of nuclear test resumption, feared that Washington wanted no disarmament agreement. Their fear increased as they read the illuminating pamphlet on the arms race published—even as the UN debate was going on—by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions established by the Fund for the Republic.

Most UN members apparently have concluded that in any case the UN could reach no disarmament decision until a new U.S. Administration took office. Some delegates sought to obtain UN approval for a Big Power pledge at least to renounce nuclear weapons and for agreement on some nuclear-free areas in the world.

THEY GO DEEP: On the surface, East-West differences seem based on an inspection control system; in reality, as the speeches indicated, the differences go far deeper. Washington and its allies repeatedly have accused Moscow of trying to palm off on an unsuspecting world what would only **look** like disarmament because, they said, it would be without adequate inspection control; Moscow, its allies and some neutrals have complained that Washington wants a control system with a sweeping survey of all weapons even before the first stage of disarmament. This to the Soviet Union was tantamount to espionage.

In fact, the Soviet government has urged "the States represented in the disarmament talks" to sign a treaty with a

(Continued on Page 9)

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THE FIGHT TO END NORTHERN SCHOOL SEGREGATION

The New Rochelle story: A test case for integration

By Joanne Grant
Guardian staff correspondent

NEW ROCHELLE, N.Y.

AN OPPORTUNITY to end 11 years of controversy over New Rochelle's segregated Lincoln elementary school, which has a 93% Negro student body, was rejected by the city's Board of Education at its monthly meeting Nov. 2. By a 5-3 vote the board turned down a proposal to grant voluntary transfers based on an earlier board policy.

The board's action means that the issue will probably be settled in a Federal court where Lincoln school parents have been granted a show-cause order against the Board of Education. The board must show why it should not be enjoined from refusing to allow Lincoln school pupils to register in all-white schools. The case, argued before Judge Irving R. Kaufman in Southern District Court of New York Oct. 27, could result in the first court-ordered integration plan in the North.

By its vote the board reaffirmed its "neighborhood schools" policy requiring students, except in specified special cases, to attend schools in the district where they live. Lincoln is in an all-Negro school district.

FACE-SAVER: The face-saving resolution was presented near the end of the stormy meeting by board member Seth M. Glickenhaus. It recommended re-adoption of a 1951 policy which included a "broad exception to the neighborhood school" rule and authorized the superintendent of schools to grant transfers "under circumstances of special need involving the welfare of the individual child."

"The Supreme Court has ruled that where concentrations of race exist inferior education exists," Glickenhaus said. The "broad exception clearly mandates the superintendent to give permission to transfer in the Lincoln area where parents feel that they do not want a neighborhood school."

(Continued on Page 9)

THE MAIL BAG

The Nathan Proposal

In the issue of the GUARDIAN dated Sept. 26, Dr. Otto Nathan asserted that the basic issue confronting the world's nations was not disarmament but the abolition of war. He proposed the endowment of a world organization with the institutions and authority for the peaceful settlement of international conflicts, and suggested the convocation of a non-governmental group of scholars equipped to produce a peace plan. The GUARDIAN invited comment by its readers and we print below several replies.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

In regard to Dr. Nathan's proposal that the scholars meet to work out a plan under the auspices of UN Disarmament Committee, it seems doubtful to me that the Secretary General would be willing to give equal representation to the left bloc, or possibly even to the claims of the new African states that they have scholars in their midst, in view of his present performance. And most certainly, People's China would not be represented.

There is another consideration in this whole matter: Do we (the people, I mean) really have the desire for peace? I doubt it. Many people in this country are so full of hatred and tension that they'd like to have something to clench their fists against, and all the pooh-poohing in the world by progressives doesn't change that fact. We live in an environment of hatred and violence compounded with self-righteousness (from which the Left also suffers).

Name withheld

●

MORA, MINN.

My parents worked for peace and disarmament all their lives (they have been gone 10 and 18 years now). They spent much time and money in progressive movements and always said we children would benefit by it. I am now 61 years old and cannot see any benefit for even my grandchildren.

There is one simple way to abolish all wars. Any leaders who want war in any manner, shape or form should be given knives and put into a small enclosure and be compelled to fight it out hand to hand.

(Mrs.) Martha L. Thelen

●

BUFFALO, N.Y.

States dominated by Big Business are entirely unwilling to engage in solely peaceful competition for world leadership. Considering the deep-going changes which must ensue for that, it is not conceivable that they would abandon their reliance upon the "deterrent" of military power or their dreams of a quick, safe "Sunday punch" (if technology can evolve that).

Therefore, I should like to make the counter-proposal that a way be found to persuade a sufficient number of the delegates of neutral states to introduce a resolution at UN calling for an actual ballot box popular referendum to be held simultaneously on a selected day over the entire planet. And this time the human race would not only vote for or against total disarmament (outcome certain) but would also sign, X or thumbprint a printed personal pledge, in triplicate, confirming each signer's intention to safeguard all humanity by promising to report, by any means at his disposal, legally or illegally, to a UN office, the slightest effort to contravene a total ban on the research into production, storage, and transportation of any sort of lethal weapon.

The signator keeps one copy for prominent display at his home, one copy goes to his national government (to sober its thoughts) and the third copy is delivered to the UN.

Donald R. Lindquist

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

VIENNA (AP) — Bulgaria's Georgii Nadjakov was elected president of the fourth general conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and immediately injected the issue of disarmament into the opening session. John McCone, chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, had said earlier that the agency should not become involved in issues outside of its competence, such as disarmament.

—Japan **Times**, Sept. 21

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: J. R., Tokyo.

●

EAST PEPPERELL, MASS.

I think Dr. Nathan's proposal is a good idea. At least it has as much chance of success as any of the attempts made so far. Probably its acceptability to the socialist countries will be contingent on a section allowing for the possibility of revolutionary change; and equally probable its acceptability to the capitalists will be contingent on the opposite, a section declaring that the status quo be maintained forever. So the result may well be no different from the present. But even so, any efforts toward peace and disarmament are better than none. **Al Amery**

●

WINFIELD, B.C.

Dr. Nathan's direction is right, but he is too discreet in presenting it. He doesn't choose to use the words "world government" for instance, but stops at "world authority." And seems to leave the nations supreme by their only being voluntarily under world law. When this world code operates, he thinks "agreement" among these supreme nations for disarmament becomes possible.

Somebody has aptly said you cannot leap over a ditch in two jumps. The nations are supreme and can make war or rearm any minute. They are either supreme or they are not. In one second they can give up their supremacy to a world government. Shortly thereafter, as the world government took over all means of force, it would be as impractical for a nation to make war as it is today for a province of Canada on another.

There is no half-way house, compromise, or nations living by "agreement." There is what the world has always had, war or threats of war; or for war being made for all practical purposes impossible by the world at last having a "head" where final authority and power is absolute.

I congratulate the GUARDIAN for being interested in this goal.

Alec Beasley

●

SAFETY HARBOR, FLA.

The plan suggested by Dr. Nathan coincides remarkably with the suggestion made by Prime Minister Macmillan in his policy declaration of Sept. 29. Is it possible that Mr. M. is attuned to the frequency of Dr. Nathan's World People's Conference?

Drawing by Picasso

While it is desirable that Dr. Nathan's committee of experts should continue their debate indefinitely as long as the world meanwhile remains at peace, how much simpler, it seems to me, is Khrushchev's plan for the destruction of all weapons of mass destruction. When Dr. Nathan says that "nations will consider any serious step toward disarmament incompatible with their 'national security' and reject it," he is saying something that simply is not true. Even the enemies of the U.S.S.R. admit that the Kremlin is sincerely ready to disarm the moment the U.S. is ready, and has been since 1955.

Dr. Bernard Raymund

●

OAK PARK, ILL.

I suggest that at the same time that a committee of experts meets, people in small groups meet in every town and village of the world. A peace plan must come from the roots as well as the experts.

Hannah B. Fyfe

Old heart tugger

SPARTA, N.J.

I have always contended you do get some of the best pictures I have ever seen. You certainly have the proper "feel" for newsability when it comes to news pictures!

I have never commented on this before, but my restraint was broken down by the front page picture of "co-existence" (Mr. K hugging Fidel Castro) in the Oct. 3 issue. You might be accused of being an old heart-string puller. **P. Boothroyd**

Ed Green's death

NEENAH, WIS.

Very sorry to learn through your Sept. 26 issue of the death of Edward J. Green of California. He was the man who got me to subscribe to the GUARDIAN and so far I have not been sorry.

(Mrs.) K. Lopas

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

ON ARMISTICE DAY (Nov. 11) the weekly **New Statesman and Nation,** spokesman for British Labor's mind and conscience, was in no mood for an armistice with Gen. Douglas MacArthur. In a lead editorial ("MacArthur Rides Again") capping a series of bitter articles since Korea, it said the general "seems intent on turning the Korean war into a world war." It disclosed that "confidential instructions, suggested by the British and fully approved by the State Department," had been urging him ". . . to halt his advance at the isthmus and so avoid contact with the Chinese forces which would be bound to cross the Yalu River in order to screen the Manchurian border and protect the valuable hydroelectric works."

Recalling that MacArthur had violated UN orders to hold South Korean Premier Syngman Rhee's power below the 38th Parallel, the **New Statesman** called his decision to occupy provinces bordering on Russia and China "pure provocation." MacArthur's report to the UN on Chinese intervention in Korea was "double-talk." He is determined "to restore Syngman and Chiang Kai-shek to power even at the cost of involving his country in war with China."

—From the National Guardian, Nov. 15, 1950

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Vol. 13, No. 5 401 November 14, 1960

REPORT TO READERS

Politics and Pomeroy

WE GO TO PRESS with this issue of the GUARDIAN on election eve, without any results available, and with an extraordinary outpouring of reader pros and cons which arrived too late for publication by election time.

There has been a recurring theme in almost all the mail we have received concerning Presidential 1960: the people who read the GUARDIAN (and multitudes more around them) do not relish the box in which they have found themselves this year; and fervently hope that by 1964 some way may be found out of that box.

The "box" is the existing two-party system and we excerpt from one too-late letter which, though perhaps unduly bellicose about what the writer expects to read here and elsewhere about the results, does give a preview of the kind of argument which willy-nilly will involve the U.S. Left of Center in the coming months.

ONE THING IS CERTAIN (this reader writes from San Francisco) ". . . Whoever wins by whatever vote, the air will be filled with profound explanations . . . All the more reason we, the GUARDIAN and its hard-core readership, should now state clearly (in advance of this next flood of 'fresh winds blowing' and 'people in motion' etc.) that about 99.44% of such comment will be wishful hogwash. And not very helpful, but very hurtful to the progressive cause.

"For the underlying premise of such perennial (especially quadrennial) Left-experting—in preparation for 'more correct tactics next time'—is that the conscious desires of the American people can find effective expression through the existing two-party system . . .

"No matter how painful or how slow must be the development of a political organization independent of that system, there can never hereafter be any other alternative with real hope for the genuine reflection of the American people's needs, either under the present social system or under a new one which a true people's organization will help create. And it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that such an organization can be nothing other than a consciously socialist and truly American political party in the Leninist sense."

BEFORE ANY GLARING antagonist charges forth with fists balled up, we recommend reading stories in this week's GUARDIAN—Konni Zilliacus' report on the British Labor Party after Scarborough (where the Party's Left reversed the Gaitskell leadership on nuclear policy and the cold war); and Bill Deverell's report from Canada on the emergence of a new political party there linking the 28-year-old Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) with the merged labor movement. The Canadian Labor Congress is affiliated with the U.S. AFL-CIO, hence its moves toward a socialist labor party in Canada will certainly precipitate ructions in the house of labor. But the CLC decision has been four years in the making, and is surely prepared to withstand the blasts of its U.S. parent.

We are fully aware of the difficulties ahead for any such effort in the U.S., yet the examples of labor in Britain and Canada in confronting the forces of militarism can hardly be lost on U.S. labor and liberal-radical forces, even though, as Zilliacus reports with respect to Britain, the British government is happy that the matter has been played down in the U.S. press.

●

A MORE IMMEDIATE JOB, certainly, than building a U.S. labor party is helping to right the appalling wrong set forth on pp. 6-8 of the GUARDIAN this week, the life imprisonment in the Philippines of former U.S. Army Sgt. William Pomeroy and his Filipina wife, Celia. The Pomeroy case comes close to home. Bill Pomeroy and Lawrence Emery of the GUARDIAN staff served together in the 10th Historical Unit of the Fifth Air Force at Clark Field, north of Manila, in the latter days of World War II. When Pomeroy decided to return to the Philippines after the war, Emery helped tote his bags to the dock. They corresponded until he was imprisoned, and Emery and a few friends have thus far conducted the campaigns for the Pomeroys' defense and rescue.

Pomeroy returned to the Philippines to join the Huks—who, like the Greek patriots, for example, were crushed by the force of U.S. arms in the post-war moves to stamp out people's movements any and everywhere. The people of China, Viet Minh and Indonesia could not be crushed. The Cuban people, right on our doorstep, conducted a struggle like that of the Huks and won—and they too are refusing to be crushed.

When the Philippine people win, Bill Pomeroy will be a hero. We think he should be a live hero, and free. We know you will help free him.

—THE GUARDIAN

AT THE ROOT OF THE INSTABILITY IN THE CONGO

UN report confirms Belgian intrigue in Congo

Since June 30, when the Congo Republic achieved its "independence" from Belgian rule, the GUARDIAN has consistently supported the position that the only way to real freedom for the Congo is through a strong central government unimpeded by Belgian or any other interference, but with sympathetic assistance from both East and West. Since that date also, we have consistently reported the machinations by Western interests, primarily Belgian, to apply the old imperialist principle of divide-and-conquer in the Congo. This intrigue succeeded in quarantining the legally-elected Premier Patrice Lumumba and dissolving the overwhelmingly pro-Lumumba Parliament.

A succession of freebooters supported by Belgium and the West has failed to create any conditions in the Congo except terror and instability. These conditions were detailed in the United Nations by many African states, India and the Soviet Union. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold came under sharp attack for his delaying tactics in the Congo which had the effect of maintaining the instability and hampering the effectiveness of the United Nations Congo forces. Then, on Nov. 3, a report was submitted to the United Nations which confirms the reports printed in the GUARDIAN and the statements presented at the UN on the eve of the Fifteenth Assembly. The author of the UN report is Hammarskjold's special representative to the Congo, Rajeshwar Dayal, an Indian diplomat.

He made a scathing attack on Col. Mobutu, chief of staff of the Congolese army and the latest of the freebooters, and showed that the Belgians were at the root of the trouble in the Congo, both regarding Mobutu and Moise Tshombe in Katanga Province. His report upheld the legal position of Lumumba and spoke with scorn of the student administrators appointed by Mobutu who came to conferences shepherded by their Belgian teacher-advisers.

The UN Assembly was scheduled to take up the Congo question on Nov. 7, with Dayal in attendance. A resolution has been presented by several Afro-Asian states asking that the Lumumba delegation be seated in the Assembly and calling on the UN to take steps to call the Congo government back into session.

Following are excerpts of the Dayal report to the UN.

AT THE HEART of the present confusion, and disintegration in the Congo is the complete lack of progress in the way of a political settlement, clearly a matter for the Congolese people themselves, which could provide a stable and recognized Government and allow the assistance provided by O.N.U.C. [UN Unified Command] to be increasing and more effectively applied.

Not only is an effective Central Government nonexistent, but the political chaos has spread in a large measure to the provincial governments, often beset by inner strife, and by lack of continuing and purposeful support and collaboration from a Central Government.

The single most disturbing, even alarming, development, has been a steady and often rapid breakdown of law and order. The greatest contributing factor to this breakdown has been the further indiscipline of the A.N.C. [Congolese National Army] forces, which have increasingly been guilty of illegal and arbitrary acts of all sorts.

The financial and economic situation of the Congo has also grown steadily worse. The depletion of foreign reserves, the virtual absence of orderly tax collection, the inability to pay salaries of public servants, has reached a stage where only quick and drastic remedial measures can prevent total collapse.

IN THE LAST FEW weeks there has been increasing evidence of the return of Belgian nationals into many phases of public life in the Congo. While the reactivation of economic enterprises and the participation in bona fide humanitarian pursuits is of benefit to the country, unfortunately there has been a substantial incursion of those elements which appear to seek a dominating influence in the councils of administration and to exclude or obstruct the application of United Nations technical assistance and influence.

Some Belgian nationals are believed to have been actively arming separatist Congolese forces, and, in some cases, Belgian officers have directed and led such forces, which, in certain areas, have been responsible for brutal and oppressive acts of violence. Advisers of Belgian nationality have been returning to governmental ministries both in Leopoldville and the provinces, partially through what seems to be an organized recruiting campaign in Belgium.

The people of the Congo are vigorous and fully conscious of their recently won independence. They would like to see their country advance on the road to stability and progress and to utilize to the full its enormous natural resources and the talent and labor of the people.

The difficulties encountered by the United Nations operations in the Congo are often the result of past experiences and the conditioning of the people during the years of colonial administration.

THERE IS CLEAR evidence of the steady return of Belgians to the Congo, and within this framework, of increasing Belgian participation in political and administrative activities, whether as advisers, counselors or executive officials. Belgian military and para-military personnel as well as civilian personnel continue to be available to authorities in the Congo, notably in Katanga and South Kasai.

Symptomatic of the changing picture is the rise of the Belgian population in Leopoldville from a low of 4,500 in July to at least 6,000. While a proportion have come back from Brazzaville, the regular Sabena service brings back full loads of passengers.

Soon after a measure of security had been re-established in the Congo, a recruiting agency for the Congo was set up in Brussels and supported in Leopoldville. Congolese contacts with the agency were made through students in Brussels and visiting emissaries from the central and provincial authorities.

The object of the agency seems to be to assist in reestablishing a civil service of Belgian nationality prinicipally at the policy level.

UNITED NATIONS documents and reports have frequently been withheld from the Congolese officials in the ministries, and propaganda has been engineered regarding the supposed dangers of the emergence of United Nations trusteeship as a result of the O.N.U.C.'s mission.

In the field of telecommunications and civil aviation, while the Congolese officials have generally welcomed and eagerly co-operated with I.C.A.O. [International Civil Aviation Organization] personnel, Belgian nationals have sought to discredit the I.C.A.O. mission as a whole and many of its experts individually.

At Luluabourg and Stanleyville transition from Belgian to Congolese operation of radio facilities has not proceeded according to plan; in explaining his difficulties, the Congolese radio official at Luluabourg has complained that Belgian nationals failed to hand over to him the relevant archives, and that they committed acts of physical sabotage of radio-electrical equipment; an I.C.A.O. official has investigated and confirmed these charges.

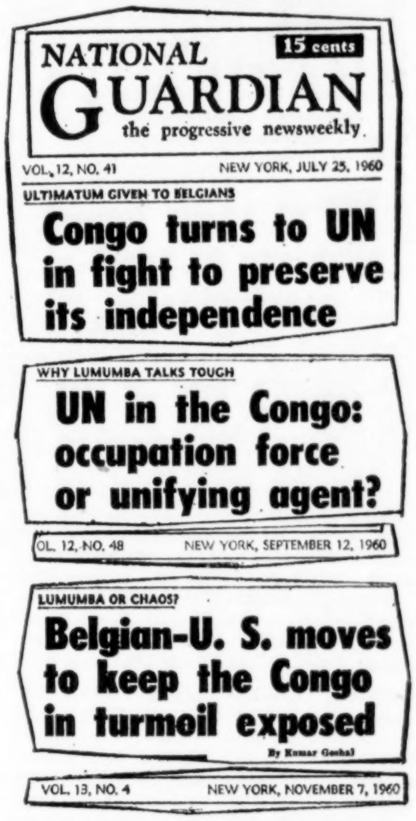
In the Information Ministry, the Commissioner - General, Mr. Albert Bolela, having brought back from Brussels four Belgian advisers, issued instructions on 22 October that international news on the Congolese radio was no longer to be given in the four main indigenous languages of the Congo. This is a return to an earlier practice.

BELGIUM INFLUENCE is also seen in the military field. A Belgian colonel, who recently arrived from Brazzaville, acts as an adviser to the Leopoldville Ministry of National Defense, while a former Belgian warrant officer serves as aide de camp to Colonel Mobutu, with the rank of captain.

In Katanga, Belgium influence is omnipresent. Virtually all key civilian and security posts are either held directly by officials of Belgian nationality or controlled by advisers to recently appointed and often inexperienced Congolese officials.

In the so-called "Autonomous State of South Kasai," there is also a considerable Belgian presence. The current emphasis there is on war-like preparations directed by a Colonel Crevecoeur, serving in Belgian uniform, and assisted by another Belgian, Colonel Levaux. There is no apparent shortage of rifles. Moreover, arms from Katanga are brought in through the Mwene-Ditu territory of the Kabinda district, reportedly with the help of a Belgian business man.

From the above data and the general consensus of well-informed U.N.C.C. officers and from other sources, it may be concluded that a gradual but purposeful return is being staged by Belgian nationals, which has assumed serious significance in view of the key areas which they have penetrated in the public life of the country, and the possible effect of their activities on all aspects of O.N.U.C.'s responsibilities. All too often these developments have coincided with anti-United Nations policies or feelings at the various points of impact.



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VOL. 12, NO. 41 NEW YORK, JULY 25, 1960

ULTIMATUM GIVEN TO BELGIANS

Congo turns to UN in fight to preserve its independence

WHY LUMUMBA TALKS TOUGH

UN in the Congo: occupation force or unifying agent?

OL. 12, NO. 48 NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 12, 1960

LUMUMBA OR CHAOS?

Belgian-U. S. moves to keep the Congo in turmoil exposed

By Kumar Goshal

VOL. 13, NO. 4 NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 7, 1960

GUARDAN CALLED THE TURN
Three headlines in three issues

Belgian activities in recent weeks have increased the intransigence of the A.N.C. Command as well as of the Katangese authorities, inhibited peaceful political activity and therefore the possibility of an eventual return to constitutional government and the re-establishment of the unity and integrity of the country. These activities have also had their repercussions, direct or indirect, on the technical assistance program.

THE PERIOD under report has been one of great uncertainty and much turbulence. Various rival "Governments" were announced and their composition revised, but they existed on paper only. The coup of the A.N.C. chief of staff had introduced a new factor adding to the complexity of the situation. The eruption of the army into the political scene constituted a new menace to peace and security, and actually inhibited peaceful political activity.

Far from the A.N.C. providing any measure of security or stability, it became the principal fomenter of lawlessness.

The carrying out of arbitrary arrests and imprisonments without any shadow of legal justification became the order of the day. In Leopoldville, the hub of the life of the country and the principal center of political activity, it introduced a state of terror threatening a paralysis of the community.

In the confused political situation which prevails, the only two institutions whose foundations still stand, are the office of the chief of state and the Parliament. If the minimum conditions of non-interference and security could be established, it would open the way to the leaders of the country to seek peaceful political solutions through the medium of these two institutions.

The present situation where the political leaders of the country have been reduced to virtual impotence, combined with the threat of the imposition of an extra-constitutional regime, clearly points to the dangers of continued party and factional strife. The opportunity is beginning to unfold for a fresh start to be made for achieving the unity and integrity of the country so that all six provinces may take their due share, on democratic lines, in the tasks that lie ahead.

The Los Angeles National Guardian Committee
presents
VINCENT HALLINAN
Report On
THE MOSCOW U-2 TRIAL

Mr. Hallinan, long a student of Soviet jurisprudence, was an invited observer at the Powers trial and had several conversations with Mrs. Barbara Powers, the Soviet prosecutor and defense counsel and the defendant himself.

Chairman: Janet Stevenson
Friday, Nov. 18 at Baces Hall, Hollywood **8:30 P.M.**
1528 N. Vermont Avenue (at Sunset)
Donation $1 Doors Open at 7:30

MOVEMENT HAS BACKING OF LABOR CONGRESS

A new Left party shakes up the Canadian political scene

By Bill Deverell
Special to the Guardian

SASKATOON, SASK.

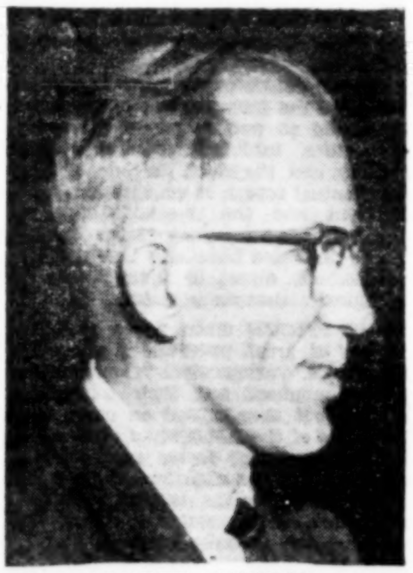
THIS HAS BEEN a year of decision for the Canadian left-wing, which has conceived a new political party to represent organized labor, socialists and "all liberally-minded Canadians."

The new party is replacing the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), Canada's socialist party, and will have the official backing of the 1,200,000-member Canadian Labor Congress.

The party is arising from a strange convergence that has seen the CCF swing somewhat to the right and the CLC move far and rapidly to the left. The proposed party was overwhelmingly endorsed this year at national conventions of the CCF and CLC.

Founding convention of the movement is to be held next February in Ottawa. Its proponents are pushing ahead briskly to beat an anticipated federal election deadline in 1961. Many political observers are pointing to 1961 as the year when Prime Minister John Diefenbaker will take his Progressive Conservative government to the country—a year ahead of normal schedule—before a predicted recession hits Canada in late 1961 and 1962.

FOR NEUTRALISM: Likely leader of the new party is Hazen Argue, 39-year-old Saskatchewan farmer with a fire-and-brimstone platform manner. Mr. Argue, a Member of Parliament since 1945, was unanimously elected national CCF leader at the biennial convention, held in Regina Aug. 11. It is unlikely he will be opposed for leadership of the new party.



STANLEY KNOWLES
He brought the groups together

The CCF's national and international policies, hammered out in a tough, heated debate at the Regina convention, indicate a growing demand for Canadian neutralism in the cold war and apparently mark an end to the rightward swing of the party. A voluminous international affairs resolution, passed in a fairly close vote, urged that Canada withdraw from NATO and promote "peaceful economic and cultural activities through agencies of the United Nations." The resolution also approved Canadian withdrawal from the U.S.-dominated North American Air Defense agreement (NORAD) and suggested that Canadian military forces be converted to an international police force.

A similar withdrawal-from-NATO resolution lost at the 1958 convention.

DOMESTIC POLICY: Nationally, a strong stand was taken on public ownership. A panel group of delegates approved nationalization of industry and chartered banks.

A further resolution said the new party should aim at democratic socialism. The principles laid down at the convention may well be the principles upon which the new movement will base policy—since its proposed constitution provides that the CCF membership will have main responsibility for formulating policy. The Labor Congress will likely be content to act as a friendly cousin, while providing financial backing.

The CLC will control a small proportion of the votes at annual conventions, under the proposed constitution. In Britain, on the other hand, the Trades Union Congress plays a major policy role through its control of large blocks of votes at Labor Party conventions.

Although a CCF memorandum has suggested that all "liberally-minded" groups would be invited to join on forming the party, the CCF and the Labor Congress will be its two vital forces.

THE CLC: The Canadian Labor Congress is an organization of odd contrasts. On one hand it is allied with the AFL-CIO, yet is led by men of far more radical views than held by U.S. union leadership. Many in the top ranks of the CLC are CCF veterans—like the two vice-presidents, Bill Dodge and Stanley Knowles, who is also the national CCF vice-president.

The first victory

ON NOV. 1 there were four by-elections for the Canadian Parliament. The opposition Liberals, under Lester Pearson's leadership, showed increased strength in winning two seats; but the big surprise was a victory for the New party which won in Peterboro, Ontario, a seat held by the ruling Conservatives for 20 years. The New York **Times** (Nov. 2) reported: "It was the first time a member of this new Socialist party had been elected to the Federal Parliament." The Conservatives had a net loss of two seats.

A distaste for stands taken by the AFL-CIO leadership has been apparent in the CLC, from top echelon to rank and file. At a convention last April in Montreal of the 80,000-member Canadian wing of the United Steelworkers of America, members voted unanimously in favor of the new party.

The **Canadian Press** reported: "They voted after several union members publicly blasted their international president, David J. McDonald, for criticizing the idea of labor getting directly involved in politics." One delegate was quoted: "Mr. McDonald should keep his nose out of our business."

A few days later the CLC's biennial convention, to the accompaniment of cheers and "Solidarity Forever," approved formation of the new party. Harvey Ladd of the Intl. Woodworkers summed up the feeling of the convention: "You can win on the picket line and have the fruits stolen in the House of Assembly." His union had been decertified by the Liberal government of Newfoundland during a long, bitter strike there.

DRASTIC CHANGE: The CLC has moved a long way since it was formed in 1956 from merger of the Trades and Labor Congress and the Canadian Congress of Labor, then affiliated with the AFL and CIO respectively. Eight years ago the TLC rode high on the anti-Communist bandwagon. In its convention of 1952, president Percy Bengough urged "an unrelenting war on communists in labor ranks."

The TLC and CCL had expelled a number of left-wing unions, including Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, United Electrical Workers, Fur & Leather Workers and the United Fishermen & Allied Workers Union. The TLC even barred reporters from Tass and Communist-sponsored media from its public meetings.

After the TLC-CCL amalgamation a slow revolution began. Top right-wing unionists seemed to be quietly sifting out. One went to the Federal labor department. Some retired. Others were less vocal. One man, Stanley Knowles, was responsible for bringing the CLC and CCF in closer alignment. A highly-respected long-time CCF MP and trade unionist, he joined CLC as vice-president in 1958.

HAZEN ARGUE
He will lead the movement

The CLC has obviously become disillusioned with the old-line parties, and is realizing a need for defense against anti-labor propaganda, which grows more virulent in the popular press. It also has awakened to the need to convert workers' aims into political action.

THE CCF: The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation was born of the pangs of the great depression and its cradle was the drought-scarred prairies of the West. Always strongest in Western Canada, it is tagged as a "splinter party" in the heavily-populated East.

The founders, led by the great Canadian pacifist, J. S. Woodsworth, met Aug. 1, 1932, in the Calgary Labor Temple to mold the socialist party. The next year they met in Regina and drew up the Regina Manifesto, which states: "No CCF government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism."

While the unions have turned left, the CCF has chosen the path to the right. A new document, officially an "elaboration" of the Regina Manifesto, waters down the protest language of the manifesto and speaks vaguely of a "mixed economy" of private, public and cooperative enterprise. This is the Winnipeg Declaration of 1956.

The Regina Manifesto spoke in stirring words of social protest: "We aim to replace the present capitalist system, with its inherent injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, in which economic planning will supersede unregulated private enterprise and competition, and in which genuine self-government, based upon economic equality, will be available. We believe that these evils can be removed only in a planned and socialized economy in which our natural resources and the principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated by the people."

NEW VERSION: But the Winnipeg Declaration is expressed in generalized terms. "The CCF will not rest content until every person in this land and in all other lands is able to enjoy equality and freedom, a sense of human dignity, and an opportunity to live a rich and meaningful life as a citizen of a free and peaceful world." Eradication of capitalism is not spoken of here. Instead: "The cooperative commonwealth will . . . provide appropriate opportunities for private business as well as publicly-owned industry."

The CCF's drift to the right was an almost inevitable trend during the post-war era of reaction in Canada. But today the CCF's position remains more progressive than most West European "social democratic" parties.

The CCF's most important achievement has been its five straight provincial election victories in Saskatchewan—the first was in 1944 and the most recent on June 8 this year. Elsewhere the CCF story has been one of hard work, some success and many disappointments.

ROOM FOR GROWTH: In British Columbia the CCF has been the opposition party since the early Forties. It is weak in Alberta, strong in Manitoba. In Ontario, the largest and wealthiest province, the CCF is the third party. It is in this industrialized province that the new movement is likely to win most of its new strength. In Quebec, where corruption and political chaos have reigned for years, the CCF's provincial arm, Parti Social Democratique, has been weak. In the Atlantic provinces socialist strength is found only in the coal-mining areas of Cape Breton Island.

The CCF has never had more than a handful of representatives in Parliament—28 in 1945 was the high. In 1957, 25 were elected but in 1958 only eight survived a tremendous flood of Conservative votes. The House of Commons seats 265 members.

OTHER PARTIES: The Progressive Conservatives and the Liberals—descended from the old Tories and Grits of Britain—are the old-line parties and one or the other has governed Canada since it became a nation in 1867.

Various weak left-wing movements were born in the 1920s. All failed. The Communist Party once was represented in the Commons by one Montreal member and during the decade following the Second World War elected members of the Manitoba and Ontario legislatures. But today the Canadian CP is almost in ruins, shattered by dissension from within and vicious attacks from without.

The depression marked the birth of CCF's right-wing opposite, the Social Credit Party—a Bible-beating, Red-baiting oddity promoting what are known here as cure-all "funny money" theories.

All Social Credit candidates were defeated in the 1958 federal election but SC governments are in power in British Columbia and Alberta.

12 Light a Candle with us
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ZILLIACUS: A GUARDIAN EXCLUSIVE

Labor's time of decision and its impact on the world

After a week of balloting by British Labor MP's which ended Nov. 3, pro-NATO Hugh Gaitskell retained his Labor Party leadership by defeating former Board of Trade President Harold Wilson by 166 to 81, with seven abstentions. Gaitskell had vowed to "fight" the decision of the party conference in Scarborough last month to ban nuclear weapons and to reject a foreign policy based on the threat of nuclear retaliation. Wilson, who stood for a Left-Right compromise to maintain party unity, received more votes than the most optimistic had expected. Gaitskell suffered a severe setback when the National Union of Mineworkers, which had supported him at Scarborough, reversed itself. The mineworkers resolved to urge the 30 Labor MP's who are members of the union to demand withdrawal of U.S. bases from Britain.

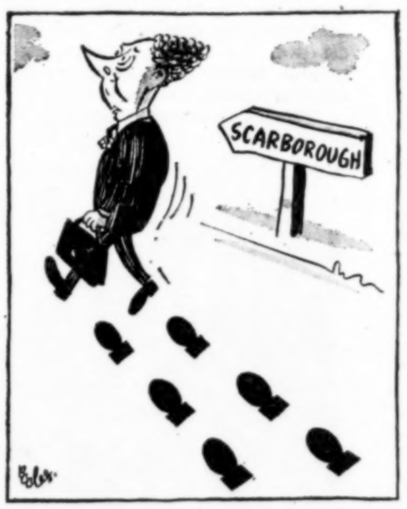
On the day of his victory Gaitskell found himself in an embarrassing position in Parliament. On Nov. 3 Emanuel Shinwell and Sydney Silverman led Left wing Labor MP's in insisting on discussing the "dangers" involved in Britain's granting the U.S. Polaris submarine support base in Scotland. Liberal party leader Jo Grimond supported the demand. House of Commons Speaker Sir Harry Hyton-Foster rejected the demand because Gaitskell had not supported it. Popular opposition to the Polaris submarine base seemed to be assuming serious proportions.

In the following article, written before the Labor leadership vote, Labor MP Konni Zilliacus presents an illuminating and prophetic background.

By Konni Zilliacus, MP
Special to the Guardian

LONDON

THE OFFICIAL POLICY of the Labor Party is now to reject the nuclear deterrent strategy, renounce nuclear weapons, and remove U.S. bases from British territory. When the decision was announced, the annual conference was treated to the extraordinary spectacle of the Party Leader, Hugh Gaitskell, his face red and distorted with anger, shaking his fist and shouting at the conference:



Eccles, London Daily Worker

"How wrong can you be? You are utterly wrong. I will fight and fight and fight this policy until the Party returns to sanity!"

If his claim is endorsed by the majority of Labor MP's, it will provoke a split and the emergence of what virtually will be two Parliamentary Labor Parties. For there are 60 Labor MPs who gave written pledges during the election that they stood on the platform of the Nuclear Disarmament Campaign, and there are at least 20 or 30 others who hold the same views but objected to signing a pledge to any outside group during an election.

READY TO FIGHT: We of the hard-core Left have long held our fire and pulled our punches out of consideration for Party loyalty and unity, and are now in the happy position of the Irishman who found himself on the side of the police. We have the law on our side, and if the Right wants to fight we shall proceed to wade in in a big way.

First, on the constitutional point which always bulks large in Party politics, since preserving the Party is a preliminary condition to winning power in order to do the things we want to do: the Parliamentary Labor Party is autonomous but not independent. That is, it decides for itself how and when to apply conference decisions to the proceedings in Parliament, but it is not entitled to ignore—still less to go against—such decisions on literally vital issues of principle. Moreover, the leader of the Parliamentary Party is ex officio a member of the National Executive Committee, which the conference elects to carry out the Party's policies.

NEC members have no right to oppose Labor policy publicly, and if they cannot conscientiously accept conference decisions and want to oppose them, they must resign from the NEC. The same principle applies to membership of the Parliamentary Committee or leadership of the Party.

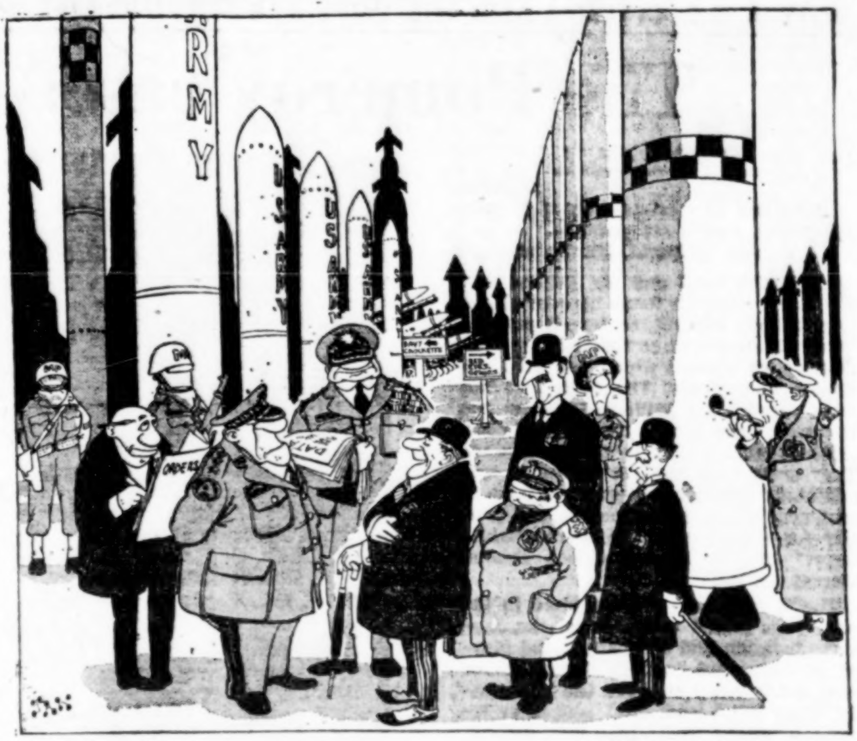
RIGID STRATEGY: The strategy of the Left is to be clear-cut and rigid on this basic issue of principle. They will not accept the authority of Mr. Gaitskell or anyone else who claims the right to lead the Parliamentary Party and be a member of the NEC, while opposing the Party's policy on the life-and-death issue of nuclear weapons and U.S. bases.

The Party Center will therefore find itself in the position it loves to occupy: namely between a hard-core Right with a conscientious addiction to H-bombs and the U.S.-run alliance at any price, and a determined Left with a conscientious objection to blowing up most or all of the human race, including our own people, for any reason whatever—least of all for the sake of U.S. policies with which we disagree or as a result of Pentagon brinkmanship.

In these circumstances, if the Center joins with the Right they will be fellow-rebels with them against the Party Constitution and the decisions of the conference. But the Left will make it clear that, if the Center accepts the principle that we must elect a leader who will be loyal to the Party Constitution and policy, the Left will let the Center make its own choice and will back anyone it produces. The Left would show itself elastic in working out a compromise policy, consistent with conference decisions and acceptable to the great majority of the Parliamentary Party, that could be successfully defended in the House and would stand up in the country and work when applied by a Labor government.

NEW POSITION: Such a compromise would not be hard to devise. It would start with the fact that, by breaking with the policy of unilateral dependence on U.S. H-bombs which makes any attempt at our own peace policy impossible, Labor has taken its stand on the UN Charter in relation to both the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. That is in fact the only position from which we can put forward a policy of our own and acquire the power necessary to induce the Americans and Russians to negotiate on the basis of our proposals for peace.

This policy would subordinate defense to Labor's foreign policy, and NATO to the UN Charter. It would take the view that we must work together with the U.S.S.R. as well as the U.S., through the UN, to defend ourselves and each other against the danger of war breaking out by accident. That is the only real danger.



JAK, London Evening Standard

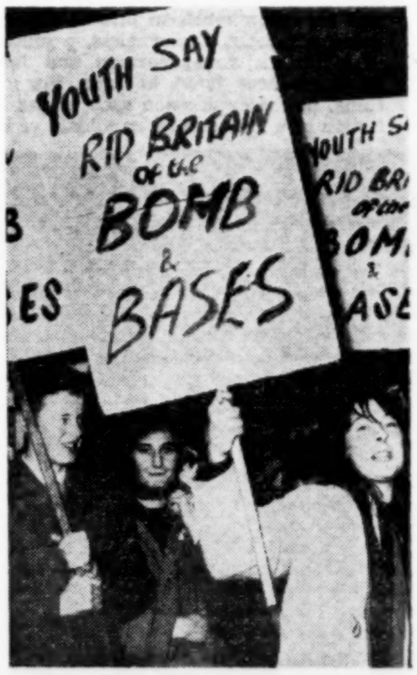
"That's settled, then, we'll have four hundred of the solid fuel failure type, and six hundred second stage ignition trouble ones."

The more we rely on arms and alliances against the wholly mythical danger of deliberate attack, the more we increase that real danger.

We, the Left MP's, are already being called by constituency Labor parties to come and explain what is now official Party policy. We are planning a big campaign in the country with meetings, discussion groups, one-day schools, leaflets, pamphlets, etc. This campaign will pay special attention to the political education of constituency parties and trade union branches.

We are also pressing hard on the constitutional points mentioned above, and preparing to take the offensive as soon as Parliament meets. We are working up our contacts, which already exist, with like-minded socialists and other groups in France, Italy, Scandinavia and West Germany. We are anxious to broaden contacts with those in the U.S who have some influence on public life and are within mental hailing-distance, so to speak, of our positions.

VICTORY CERTAIN: We shall win, because the causes responsible for the growing strength of the movement that has now triumphed in our Party are still operating—with the passage of time they become more and more compelling. On the other hand the collapse of the nuclear deterrent strategy and failure of negotiation-through-strength policy become ever plainer.


YOUTH SAY RID BRITAIN of the BOMB & BASES
YOUTH SAY RID BRITAIN of the BOMB & BASES

SCARBOROUGH SAW THE YOUTH
And heard what they had to say

The increasing cost and danger and utter blind-alley hopelessness of the cold-war policies, the menacing rise of militarism and fascism in Germany, and the sheer madness and wickedness of arming Hitler's generals in Adenauer's forces with nuclear weapons, are coming home to the British public in a big way—and the U.S. is held responsible.

Another increasingly sore point in the public mind is the feeling that we are practically an occupied country, without the possibility of conducting any policy of our own—along with the fact that we are treated by our American masters as a political satellite in the cold war and an expendable base when the world topples over the brink. There is a vast longing in the British people to end the cold war.

ADENAUER'S ATTACK: Among early public reactions to Labor's fateful decision has been a violent attack on the Party from semi-official Adenauer government sources. Our press has expressed surprise at this unwarranted intrusion into British internal affairs. But we on the Left expected it—for we know how many socialist and liberal cold-war opponents in West Germany have been waiting and praying for this decision by the Labor Party, and will take it as the green light for resuming and stepping up their fight inside Germany (insofar as that semi-police-state now allows radical political dissent without clapping the dissenters in jail).

Our newspapers also report with what relief Mr. Macmillan and the British Information Service in the U.S. succeeded in playing down the whole thing in the U.S. press, with the help of the not inconsiderable diversions provided by Mr. Khrushchev in the General Assembly and the pre-Presidential perambulations of the twin candidates.

TO HELL WITH 'EM: As the fight here develops, it is—as one or two colleagues of mine remarked at Scarborough—going to kill political apathy and produce the greatest and hottest political controversy since the Spanish Civil War and the Peace Ballot in the Thirties. As the impact of what is happening begins to soak in abroad, the effects should be considerable and cumulative.

In short, "the joint is jumping." We are determined to make Britain jump out of the cold war into peaceful co-existence, and to hell with NATO and the nuclear deterrent strategy. To hell with all the cold warriors on both sides of the Atlantic who have kept our country on the rack ever since the war, and who are ready to crucify humanity out of their insane fear and hatred of the third of the world that is beginning to make socialism succeed.

WHY A U.S. CITIZEN AND HIS WIFE ARE SERVING LIFE TERMS IN THE PHILIPPINES

The Pomeroy case: A challenge to the American

By John Roberts
Special to the Guardian

MANILA

Rebellion is a crime only if it fails, otherwise, rebels are patriots.
—Juan T. David, Manila attorney

AN AMERICAN and his Filipina wife are serving life terms here for crimes they did not commit, sentenced under a "law" which cannot be found in the Penal Code, by a court which had no jurisdiction in the case. The victims of this legal paradox are William Pomeroy and his wife, Celia, who participated in the Hukbalahap rebellion in the Philippines. They are among the 120 "rebellion and politburo" prisoners, several under death sentence, who are still paying the penalty for armed resistance to the "white terror" of the late President Ramon Magsaysay.

The Hukbalahap was organized in the early days of the war to resist the Japanese invasion and occupation, and played an important part in liberating the Philippines. After the war the Huk, under Communist leadership, sought by legitimate means to promote land reform, labor organization and freedom from foreign domination. (The Philippines became nominally independent in 1946 but, under the Bell Trade Act, continued to be, in effect, a U.S. colony as before).

During the U.S. occupation, many Huk patriots were imprisoned with war criminals and collaborators. The latter were all released by amnesty and restored to positions of power under U.S. sponsorship. Among them was Manuel Roxas, the first President of the Philippine Republic.

The puppet government launched a campaign of repression against the Huks and their allies, such as the Congress of Labor Organizations (CLO), the Democratic Alliance and peasant organizations. The CLO was banned. Elected congressmen and senators of the Democratic Alliance were ousted from the legislature. When Huk leaders tried to negotiate with the government they were ambushed, kidnaped, murdered. As a last resort, they took up arms again, not only to defend the organs of political action but for survival.

HEAVY TOLL: The regime of Elpidio Quirino, who came into office in 1948, enfeebled by corruption, could not cope with the uprising, which was supported by most of the peasants of Central Luzon. Magsaysay, with the moral and material backing of the U.S., was able to defeat the rebels only by suspending democratic processes, terrorizing the countryside and enticing the poor farmers with promises of free land. Peace and order were restored, but only at the cost of freedom and justice.

Most of the Huk leaders were killed in battle or murdered by the Philippine Constabulary or government agents. Of those who survive, the majority are still in prison or in hiding in the hills. It is believed that those in prison are kept there not so much because of their past actions but because of their political potential in the future.

WILLIAM AND CELIA POMEROY AT THEIR WEDDING
Their marriage coincided with the government's betrayal of amnesty

Otherwise, why were the Huks and their allies, despite their outstanding war record and the love and admiration in which they were held by the people of Luzon, punished so much more severely than those who collaborated with the Japanese to pillage, massacre, starve and torture their fellow Filipinos? And now that the danger is past, why are they not granted amnesty such as that given the collaborators?

For that matter, why are Bill and Celia Pomeroy undergoing a penance more severe than that usually given Americans abroad who have actually committed crimes?

THE ANSWER: "We are prisoners of imperialism," Bill Pomeroy said recently, in explaining the discrimination. And by an ironic twist of fate, the rebellion prisoners are being held in Fort McKinley, named after the President under whom the Philippines were conquered by force of arms to become a U.S. colony for half a century.

Bill can't prove this charge. If the U.S. government is using pressure to keep him and his fellow rebels in prison, they are doing it quietly. Nevertheless, a number of attorneys, newspapermen and labor leaders believe it to be true. For one thing, no major decision such as the selection of a Presidential candidate or the formulation of a foreign policy, nor even such minor decisions as the tariff on cigarettes, is made without consulting (or taking orders from) the Americans. And this is considered a very important case indeed. It is known also that politicos in the highest places favor amnesty for the rebellion prisoners, yet they are apparently afraid to act.

While no American interference can be demonstrated, it is clear that the U.S. authorities consider the Pomeroy case in a very special light. At the time of Bill's arrest, the State Dept. asserted piously that they were "watching the case to see that he [Bill] gets a fair trial." But at the same time, spokesmen said that they would not intervene. Even before Bill and Celia were arraigned, a U.S. Embassy official in Manila was quoted as saying: "Anything the Philippines can do to him legally, including hanging, will be O.K. with us."

U.S. Ambassador Raymond A. Spruance offered no objection to charges which included murder and multiple arson, carrying a possible death penalty, although there was never the slightest reason for believing that the Pomeroys had participated in any of the overt acts charged in the bill of particulars. Was this perhaps the State Dept.'s idea of insuring a fair trial?

WILLIAM POMEROY AND FRIENDS IN A HAPPIER TIME IN THE PHILIPPINES
His concern was to bring about a better future for kids like these

TIME OF HYSTERIA: At the time of his capture, during the early part of the Korean War, the press was splashed with hysterical and inaccurate reports, creating an atmosphere in which a fair trial was impossible.

There were charges that many U.S. Communists had infiltrated the Philippines. It was suggested that Pomeroy had destroyed the goodwill that Americans had built up in the Far East, and that his activities might result in an American exclusion act. One paper said that he was a deserter.

The New York **Times** accused him of being a "double traitor—to his own country and the country in which he served" (quoted in the Manila **Times**, April 14, 1952). Charges of treason by the world's most influential newspaper before a trial are hardly conducive to judicial impartiality. I was told by a friend, in fact, that the trial judge had admitted to him that the severity of the sentence was partly due to Bill's being an American.

"Well, after all," some people have asked unsympathetically, "what did he expect?"

DEATH THREAT: The fact is that Bill expected to be hanged. No less a figure than President Magsaysay made this cheerful prediction to him personally. The death threat was used to coerce him and his wife to cooperate (inform). Since neither would "cooperate," it was decided that a plea of guilty might save their lives.

It was not an easy decision. The charge was "rebellion complexed with murders, arsons, robberies and kidnapings." Neither of them had participated in any of the 16 incidents specified in the indictment. Some of them had occurred before Bill had even reached the Philippines. None had taken place in Manila, where he was tried.

Yet Bill and Celia had worked with the Huks, writing and teaching; they were willing to admit their part in the movement and take the consequences. They wanted to live, and they had seen too many of their comrades done to death to believe that the government would have any compunction about liquidating them. They made the minimum concession by the guilty plea.

Their court-appointed attorney, apparently well-intentioned, failed to inform them (if he knew) that the crime of complex rebellion had never been written into the penal code, and that it imposes double jeopardy: for in Philippine law the acts committed by rebels in furtherance of the rebellion are absorbed in the charge of rebellion, which carries the maximum penalty of 12 years in prison. They were not advised to contest the jurisdiction of the court, nor to appeal the sentence. Had they done so, they would be free today; but since they did not, the Supreme Court used their original failure to do so as a pretext for denying habeas corpus.

"What was Pomeroy doing over there in the first place? What business did he have getting mixed up in the Huk uprising?" The people who ask such a question may be among those who grow indignant over the detention of confessed spies in China or Russia, or the prosecution of American fliers in Cuba or Indonesia. But it must be answered to distinguish Bill from the mercenaries, adventurers or agents who come to grief in alien lands. For Bill Pomeroy and his wife, whether right or wrong, risked their lives and sacrificed their personal freedom for the principles in which they believed.

PHILIPPINE SLUMS LIKE THESE GO WIT
The aim of the Hukbalahap was to en

THE BACKGROUND: Bill grew up during the depression. After his graduation from West High School in Rochester, N.Y. (he completed the course in three years), he discovered that a college education was out of the question; he had

A steady deepening of faith . . .

An excerpt from a recent letter from William Pomeroy:

AS OUR YEARS in prison draw toward a climax, I find myself reviewing the reasons and the processes that sent us here. Despite all the hardships and the sufferings, and they have been many, I discover that I have no bitterness in me whatsoever, but only clear-eyed understanding of the forces that affect us and of which we are a part. The stories of men who beat their fists bloodily on hard stone walls around them have no echo in my experience, which has been of resilient patience and a steady deeping of faith in what I believe to be right, profound and yet simple as a heartbeat or murmur in the conscience.

I endure this knowing that at the end there will be no rewards or thanks, perhaps only criticisms and new trials of endurance. How can it be otherwise in the world of today, a world whose people cannot move forward without struggle and without those who sacrifice for the rest?

Yet, the strange thing is that I have no feeling of sacrificing. My whole life has shaped me toward taking the position that I have, so that living through all this is just as natural and inevitable and satisfying as any life spent in creative work.

n people

to go to work. But as compensation, he made a list of all the important books he had ever heard of and embarked on a program of reading them. He virtually absorbed the Public Library, ruining his eyes but furnishing his mind with an amazing assortment of information.

One thing that interested him particularly was the breakdown of the capitalist system, of which he himself was a victim. He wanted to know why, and what could be done about it. He discovered Marxism, studied it, and with characteristic directness, plunged into left-wing political activity. That's the way he is: When a thing seems right and necessary, it must be done, regardless of the personal consequences.

During the war he was assigned to the Historical Section of the Fifth Air Force, with the rank of staff sergeant. He took part in the invasion of Leyte and the liberation, and was later stationed at Fort Stotsenberg, Central Luzon. He had been familiar, of course, with the heroic legend of the Hukbalahap, who fought some 1,600 engagements which cost the Japanese 25,000 lives and must have saved an even greater number of American lives by mopping up enemy resistance before the arrival of allied troops.

At Stotsenberg, Bill was in Huk country and came to know some of the guerrilla fighters. He also saw and heard about American discrimination against the Huk, the arming of collaborationists and civil guards against them, the denial of their legitimate claims for back pay, their imprisonment and even murder and massacre in some instances. For the U.S. authorities and their Filipino sycophants feared an armed peasantry as much as they feared the Japanese invaders.

GO WITH MASSIVE REPRESSION
to end this kind of poverty

AFTER THE WAR: President Quezon, from his asylum in Washington, tried to discourage the guerilla resistance and this policy was carried out by the Americans who denied arms, assistance and cooperation despite the magnificent fighting of the Huk patriots. As soon as the Japanese had been eliminated, the American liberators began installing "reliable" elements (those who had collaborated with the Japanese could be relied upon to cooperate with the returned masters, especially since the collaborators could be prosecuted otherwise) and proceeded by every means to extirpate the Huk movement and its organized support.

But Bill Pomeroy had learned much about the Huks, and admired them. He also fell in love with the Philippines, the beauty of the mountain ranges and fertile plains, the patience and courage of the **taos** who labored there with so little benefit to themselves and their families. He returned to the States and was discharged in 1946, but within less than a year he returned to Manila to resume his long-interrupted education at the University of the Philippines. And at the same time, he began to write, rapidly establishing a reputation for articles and stories published in the Manila press.

Bill had met Celia Mariano, the daughter of an accountant. She had majored in English, had become a teacher and later a civil service examiner. Before the war, she met Jesus Lava, one of the most brilliant men in the Philippines and a radical. (Jesus, a leading Huk, is still in the hills, with a price on his head; his brother Jose is in prison with Bill, serving a life sentence, while a third brother, Vicente, an outstanding scientist, died with the Huk.) Celia was among the first to join the guerrillas after the Japanese invasion and worked with the Hukbalahap all during the war, teaching, writing, publishing underground newspapers and even fighting.

CRACKDOWN: Immediately after the war, the country, nominally independent, began to return to its old orbit as an American satellite. But to counteract this backsliding there was a powerful revival of the left-progressive movement and the prestige and organizational experiences of the Huk were naturally of great value to this mass upsurge. Workers flocked into the new Congress of Labor Organizations. Peasant groups, particularly the Communist-led PKM, grew and became more demanding in their cry for land. The Democratic Alliance succeeded in electing six congressmen who, allied with honest Nationalists, were in a strategic position to thwart Roxas' pro-American legislation.

But these congressmen were arbitrarily ousted from their seats, along with three Nationalist senators. The Bell Trade Act, which the late Harold Ickes called "the sovereignty of Wall Street . . . the act of a robber baron of the ancient Rhine," was approved by the purged Congress, making the new Republic again the vassal of Washington.

Also imposed was the unpopular "parity" agreement, which gave American investors the same rights in the Philippines as those enjoyed by the Filipinos themselves. Parity required a constitutional amendment to be passed by a two-thirds majority; but even with the six opposition legislators absent, the measure squeaked through by only one vote.

CRUCIFIXION: The campaign of repression against the Huks and other leftist groups began soon after. It is described at length in a book (banned in the Philippines) called **Born of the People.** Purportedly an autobiography of Luis Taruc, it was actually only authorized by him but written in its entirety by Bill Pomeroy. Here is an excerpt which may help to explain Bill's feelings about the early postwar situation:

"In the annals of our history, when its pages are written, let the crucifixion of Central Luzon in these years of the imperialist intervention not be forgotten. Remember the barrios [villages], and the ashes of the poor houses of poor people. Remember the dead people, machine-gunned, beaten to death, thrown into rivers by the hundreds. Remember all the crimes against the people. They will one day be the heritage of our freedom."

After listing scores of villages burned and plundered, their people evacuated, terrorized or massacred, Pomeroy's Taruc goes on to say:

"In all our history as a people there is nothing to equal the campaign of suppression and persecution launched against the peasant movement by Manuel Roxas in August, 1946, and later continued by President Elpidio Quirino. The Spanish execution squads, the butcheries carried out by the American Army when it crushed the first Philippine Republic, even the terrors of the Japanese, were all exceeded by the orgy of killing, torture, burning and looting that was let loose in Central Luzon. It will remain forever an ugly stain upon our nation."

The Huk, the only protection of the Filipinos who were undergoing this rightist pogrom, took up whatever arms remained to them. This was not rebellion but self-defense, and an effort to protect the constitutional right which the people had waited so long to exercise.

TREACHERY: Roxas was succeeded by Elpidio Quirino, another faithful servant of U.S. finance, whose abysmally corrupt regime carried on the American policy of suppression. But the Huk was strong, numerous and well-loved. The Quirino administration, too feeble to cope with it, declared a treacherous "amnesty" for the armed Huks. Under this truce, the Huk leadership had been persuaded to negotiate and sought means of working again through legitimate channels toward a peaceful solution.

But they were lured into traps, ambushed or imprisoned. CLO leader Manuel Joven was kidnaped and murdered. Peasant leader Juan Feleo was murdered after he placed himself under the protection of the constabulary to confer with the President. Taruc, the supreme commander, barely escaped the same plot. It was only after this that the Huks realized fully the futility of negotiating with a government dedicated to their extermination.

It was at the end of this false amnesty that Bill and Celia were married, and he now had a more personal reason to want a square deal for the Filipinos. He had every justification for opposing the policies of his own country aimed at retaining the Philippines perpetually as an economic colony; and as a writer he believed that the right of expression, even then denied him, was worth fighting for. If the Roxas terror had shocked Bill, the treacherous murder of his and Celia's friends had moved him even more deeply. Then came the new campaign of terror which made it necessary for the newly married couple to join the armed guerrillas in the hills:

THE TERROR: In **Born of the People** he describes the fresh onslaught which coincided closely with his wedding:

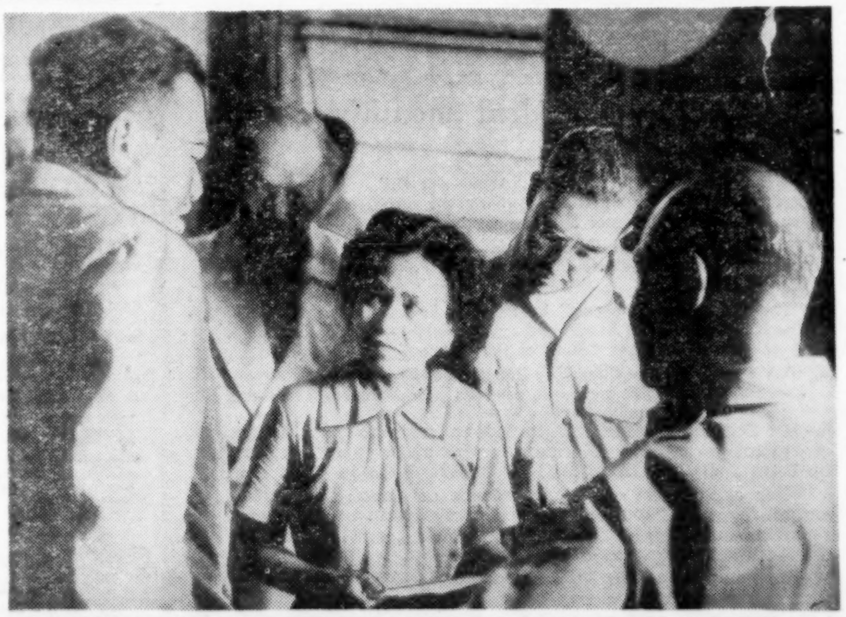
"The amnesty was over. The terror launched by Quirino exceeded the worst of the Roxas brutalities. Murder, torture, raping, looting and wholesale evacuations ensued across Central and Southern Luzon. The bulk of the victims at the beginning were those who had trustingly registered under the amnesty proclamation of Quirino.

"The most important conclusion forced on us was that we could no longer hope to achieve a democratic peace through normal, legal, constitutional processes as long as we were under imperialist-feudal rule."

The only alternatives were abject surrender or to confront violence with violence. The hope of the Huk was to attract sufficient support among the people to hamstring the government and eventually to replace it with an administration more representative of the will of the people. But Magsaysay, Defense Minister under Quirino, took a firm hold on the Army and drove the Huks deeper into the hills. At the height of the fighting there were perhaps 20,000 guerrillas under arms, and they were supported by most of the people of Central Luzon. But they were greatly outnumbered by the Magsaysay forces, armed and financed by the United States, and also had the Constabulary and the civil guards to contend with.

TOTAL WAR: Magsaysay, groomed for the Presidency by the U.S., carried on total war against the Huk. The Philippine government became virtually a military dictatorship. Under the revived "white terror" the peasants were intimidated and the militant labor unions disbanded, smashing labor's support for the rebellion. The CLO had been outlawed and its chairman, Amado Hernandez, (Tagalog poet laureate, novelist and Nationalist Party leader) was sentenced to life imprisonment. (He spent six years in solitary confinement before he was freed on a writ of habeas corpus by the Supreme Court). The Army adopted the slogan, "Land for the Landless" to undercut the Huk land reform program; it had its effect in causing numerous defections from the Huk camp.

(Continued on Page 8)



MAGSAYSAY (L.) WITH THE POMEROYS AFTER THEIR CAPTURE
The President told them cheerfully that he intended to hang them

The Pomeroy case

(Continued from Page 7)

Magsaysay was already on his way to victory when Pomeroy and his wife were captured in April, 1952. Previously, many of the top leaders had been rounded up in Manila and convicted of "rebellion complexed." As an example to the rebels still at large, they were given death sentences or life imprisonment. Bill and Celia, even with their guilty plea as a mitigating circumstance, got life, although their most heinous act was probably that of working on Taruc's autobiography.

Taruc himself was let off with a sentence of 12 years. But he had surrendered in 1954, made a deal, repented and joined the Catholic Church. He is now serving his term in special quarters at the Military Intelligence Headquarters at Camp Murphy.

TWO QUESTIONS: Can accused persons be properly convicted of crimes which they did not commit, and could not have committed, even though they have pleaded guilty?

Should persons convicted of a felony non-existent in the statutes, by a court lacking jurisdiction, and sentenced to a penalty far in excess of that allowed by law, be held in prison simply because they failed to contest the court's jurisdiction or to appeal the case?

These are two of the questions at issue in the Pomeroy case.

When the Pomeroys were arraigned on the capital charge of "rebellion complexed with murders, arsons, robberies and kidnapings," they had every reason to expect the death penalty. Even under such menace, they refused to accept offers of clemency in exchange for giving information. However, they pleaded guilty; as anticipated, the plea was regarded as a mitigating circumstance, and they were sentenced to life terms.

The indictment of the Pomeroys charges offenses of two kinds: First, conspiracy to commit rebellion; second, supporting or directing the Hukbalahap in an armed uprising. From the second, it is inferred that they shared in the guilt for all the acts of violence enumerated in the 16 specific counts.

WASN'T THERE: But the Pomeroys could not have conspired to commit rebellion at the time specified in the indictment, because Bill was not in the Philippines at that time and had no connection with any Philippine organization.

As for the second offense, that of helping or directing the Huk, there are no specific instances cited in the charges. It is true that the Pomeroys did propaganda work in support of the Huk, but with the extenuating circumstance of a guilty plea, their sentence on this should not have exceeded the minimum sentence for simple rebellion, six years. They have already served more than this sentence.

And as for the 16 counts of murders, arson, robberies and kidnaping, the only definite acts specified, the Pomeroys deny participation in any of them, nor was any such accusation even included in the indictment. Several of these occurred before Bill's arrival in the Philippines. None occurred in Manila, where the trial took place.

At the trial, they waived a reading of the charge "in view of the fact that they were already personally informed of its contents." Therefore, few people are aware of the fact that the specific crimes of which the Pomeroys were convicted (apart from "simple rebellion") had been committed without their participation or even of their prior knowledge.

AMNESTY VIOLATED: The general amnesty signed by President Quirino in May, 1948, in negotiations with Huk leaders, should have voided punishment for crimes committed before that time. The Huks complied with the terms of the amnesty; the fact that the Quirino government did not, and by its violent betrayal of the amnesty provoked a fresh rebellion, does not legally justify the subsequent punishment of the Huks for acts committed before the amnesty. Nevertheless, the indictment specifies six acts committed before the amnesty of 1948.

Is there any justification for the perpetual imprisonment of persons who could not possibly have committed the crimes charged, even after a guilty plea? This issue seems never to have been brought up by the Pomeroy's court-appointed attorney, nor in subsequent petitions.

But the foregoing questions only highlight the fact that the prosecution of the Pomeroys and the Huk generally has been a political rather than a judicial matter. A careful reading of the legal documents in the case indicate strongly that the legal inconsistencies are a result of the desperate and reckless anxiety of the government, reflected in the courts, to impose the severest possible penalties on the rebels and to make their sentences stick regardless of logic or precedent. The whole record of the Huk prosecutions is one of vengeance, not justice.

Enlightening is the sentencing judge's promise of leniency if Bill would join the anti-red fight. "If Pomeroy will tell me all he knows about the Huk," he said, "he will give me a reason to ask for clemency." Is this not tantamount to using the death sentence for political blackmail?

LAW INVALIDATED: The invalidity of the "complex rebellion" law was upheld by the Supreme Court of the Philippines in the case of Amado Hernandez, head of the Congress of Labor Organizations, who had been sentenced to life imprisonment in 1950. By the Court's decision, he was released on bail in 1956, after six years of solitary confinement.

The Hernandez decision encouraged the Pomeroys to seek habeas corpus and they were successful in securing a favorable decision from a lower court in Rizal on August 28, 1958. But before bail could be posted the government appealed the Rizal decision to the Supreme Court and the Pomeroys lost their chance for freedom. The case dragged along until Feb. 24, 1960, when the Supreme Court set aside the ruling of the lower court on the ground that its own invalidation of the "complex rebellion" charge was not "retroactive" and therefore did not apply to the Pomeroy case.

The Supreme Court held that the Pomeroys' only recourse was to seek pardon or amnesty from the executive branch; by abdicating its responsibility, the Court threw the case into the stormy seas of politics. (The Chief Justice and one other dissented sharply from the majority opinion.)

FEAR TO ACT: There has been pressure from important nationalist leaders for a general amnesty on the theory that the best antidote to communism is a good dose of democracy. The present Garcia administration is believed to subscribe to this theory. But the opposition Liberal (reactionary) Party is using every weapon of McCarthyism to attack the Garcia administration. An amnesty at this time, with a Presidential election looming next year, would be used to brand the Garcia faction.

It is the police-state terror that prevents the formation here of any group, even a small one, to promote the release of the Huk prisoners. For it must be admitted that there is no defense organizing for the release of the prisoners. Those inclined to help fear to do so. The press, largely dependent on U.S. advertising, is universally hostile to the Huk.

In the Philippines it is widely believed that the broad democratic forces of which the Hukbalahap was a part would have achieved political dominance had the Americans not intervened. And the U.S. government must have believed so, because it went to great trouble and expense to groom Magsaysay for President, to build him up as a "free world" leader and to beef up the Philippine forces for their work of suppressing the Huk. Today, not unexpectedly, the Filipinos enjoy neither freedom nor any means of pursuing it democratically. They can do little in a police state to free their patriots who are in prison.

UP TO AMERICANS: There are many wrongs to be righted there, and the responsibility lies squarely on the doorstep of the Americans, whose government and whose money have crushed all but the last spark of liberty from the Republic of the Philippines. The American people have a particular obligation to Bill Pomeroy, who not only tried to help the Filipinos resist American domination, but gave to the Americans an accurate and thorough account of the Hukbalahap uprising so that Americans need not accept blindly the brutal and selfish policy of their own government.

If enough Americans had the understanding and the courage to speak up for Bill and Celia Pomeroy, they could be freed from a lifetime of misery. A campaign for the Pomeroys' freedom could, in fact, bring about an early liberation of the Huk rebels who, whatever one may believe about the righteousness of their cause, have already been punished beyond the requirements of justice and the norms of a civilized society.

WHAT YOU CAN DO TO HELP THE POMEROYS

If, after reading this report, you agree with the editors of the GUARDIAN that the continued imprisonment of William and Celia Pomeroy is a glaring injustice, then write today to the President of the Philippines urging a pardon or, at the least, a commutation of sentence to time served. Address your appeal to:

President Carlos P. Garcia
Malacanang Palace, Manila,
Philippine Republic

Funds are also needed to wage a campaign for the Pomeroy's freedom. Vincent Hallinan, prominent San Francisco attorney, Progressive Party candidate for President in 1952, and recently an invited observer at the Powers trial in Moscow, has accepted the chairmanship of an enlarged committee, now in formation, to work for the freedom of the Pomeroys. Donations may be addressed to:

FRIENDS OF THE POMEROYS, c/o. Lawrence Emery
28 E. 10th Street, New York City 3, N.Y.
Enclosed find my check ☐ cash ☐ in support of the Pomeroys.

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(Checks or money orders may be made payable to Lawrence Emery, Treas.)

PUBLICATIONS

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November issue features:

- **A. J. Muste on "The Crisis in SANE—Act II."** An analysis of the situation involving the SANE National Board and the Senate Internal Security subcommittee.
- **Ann Morrissett, "The Cold War in the Congo."** A review based on interviews and letters from Congolese Parliament Members in Leopoldville.
- **"The Relevance of Anger," by Paul Du Brul,** former Director of the National Student Assn. Southern Scholarship and Defense Fund. A commentary on the "State of the campus."
- **"A View North from Cuba," by Douglas Gorsline.** A view of America's Latin America policy as seen on a trip this fall to Cuba.

THE December issue will include a reply to Mr. Muste's article on SANE by Norman Cousins and a report on Cuba by Dave Dellinger, LIBERATION editor who is in Cuba now.

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New Rochelle story

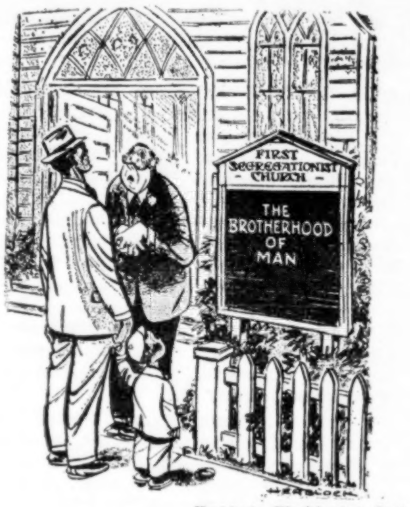
(Continued from Page 1)

Glickenhaus said the 1951 policy "completely destroys our legal action against these parents." He urged the board to stop all litigation in light of the newly discovered authorization. He pointed out that Supt. of Schools Herbert C. Clish had commented that he had been unaware of the 1951 policy and had "admitted that he was indeed surprised." The policy was contained in a report prepared by Clish for board members.

PARENTS UNDER FIRE: The board's legal actions against parents consist of a loitering charge in New Rochelle against those who sought to register their children in a school outside the Lincoln district; a charge of negligence in White Plains Children's Court against parents withholding their children from school; and a restraining order in White Plains Supreme Court against parent demonstrations on school property. The three cases have been delayed pending the Federal court decision.

More than 100 persons attended the board meeting hoping for a chance to speak. But board president Merryle S. Rukeyser ruled that only written communications would be accepted. Proponents of integration said before the meeting that they would write to the board and to the New Rochelle **Standard Star** if they were not allowed to speak.

Of 13 communications already received by the board, eight favored neighborhood schools and five open enrollment. The local American Jewish Congress chapter wrote citing "racially balanced schools" as the "special situation" under which transfers should be granted to Lincoln school students. A former NAACP executive board member, Randel Toliver, reversed his stand and announced support of open enrollment. He had resigned in protest over NAACP support of Lincoln parents.



Herblock, Washington Post

"Pray keep moving, brother."

STRONG SUPPORT: Lincoln school parents who are withholding their children from school attendance are supported by the local NAACP, the Urban League of Westchester County, and the Committee for Integration in New Rochelle. Darwin Bolden of the national office of the Congress of Racial Equality is advising the parents and helping to organize community support. Parents from Ward and Davis, all-white elementary schools, and from Roosevelt, where six children of Liberian and Ghanaian United Nations delegates are the only Negro students, have issued statements welcoming children from Lincoln.

Lincoln parents maintain that low academic standards do not equip graduates to compete on the same level with white students when they enter the city's integrated junior high schools. They contend that many Negro students assigned to special classes for lower academic levels are graduated from high school without having been in classes with whites. Mrs. Frederick T. White Jr., tutor for the Lincoln students not attending school this fall, supports the contention that Lincoln students are behind. Mrs. White reports that since the opening of the school year she has been concentrating on "catching them up" and doing remedial work.

One Lincoln parent, Rudolph Willliams, said: "I'm not fighting so my child can sit beside a white child. I'm fighting so she can get the education she deserves."

GERRYMANDERED: The 62-year-old Lincoln school is scheduled to be replaced by a new $1,300,000 building by 1963. In a referendum last year Lincoln district residents voted against constructing a new school on the site of the old building on the ground that it would perpetuate segregation.

Lincoln area residents say that the district has been gerrymandered. They point out that it is the smallest school district in the city and that irregular boundaries give the district a teapot shape.

The long-standing Lincoln controversy was the subject of a 1957 New York State Dept. of Education report which criticized the New Rochelle Board of Education for lack of leadership on the problem of segregation. A study prepared at the board's request that same year by five education experts recommended changes in school district lines. The study said: "Obviously the racial imbalance in the school [Lncoln] is related to the housing patterns. The housing patterns, however, cannot be changed overnight. The school district boundaries can."

FEINBERG LAW HIT: Unless New Rochelle settles its school problem now the future will bring added ones. This warning was made at the board meeting by Bernard Margolis, who argued that a redevelopment program in the Stevenson school area would create a "Negro ghetto" and a racial imbalance in that school.

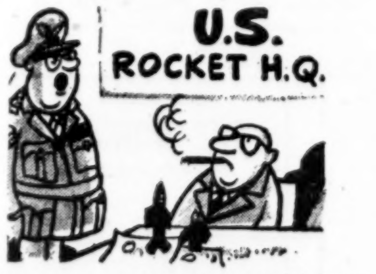
One other agenda item which stirred interest was a resolution attesting to the loyalty of the superintendent of schools, required under the Feinberg law which says school boards must dismiss employes who are members of organizations listed as subversive by the New York State Board of Regents. The board unanimously voted to write the state legislature and the Governor requesting that the Feinberg law be "legislated out of existence." Board members registered their strong disapproval of the law terming it "a dangerous and patently unconstitutional witch-hunting law."

Disarmament story

(Continued from Page 1)

time limit on general and complete disarmament by stages, to which all nations would be asked to accede at a conference called for that purpose. The Soviet proposal also provides for setting up a control organization "within the framework of the UN the moment the treaty comes into force" and for stationing "its inspectors on the territories of the States so that they may begin discharging their functions the moment the States begin to carry out disarmament measures."

NEHRU'S POSITION: The U.S. has thus far refused to commit itself beyond a first stage treaty, during which it has insisted on an elaborate and comprehensive inspection system put into operation "without delay." Further stages, according to the U.S. proposal, would depend on experts' agreement on the efficiency of the control system.


U.S. ROCKET H.Q.

Eccles, London Daily Worker

". . . you couldn't possibly have a more down-to-earth program than ours."

Socialist and neutral nations see in this a danger of disarmament being indefinitely postponed, since the signatories would not be pledged to complete disarmament within any specified time and experts might get enmeshed in interminable arguments over the efficacy of the control system.

Indian Premier Nehru on Oct. 21 in effect supported the Soviet proposal. He said that a time limit of three or four years (Moscow has suggested four) should be set on complete disarmament. He insisted that disarmament and controls must be effected simultaneously, since, as he explained, disarmament without controls would never be accepted and controls without disarmament would be meaningless. Nehru supported Soviet Premier Khrushchev's suggestion that the UN General Assembly be reconvened next spring for a disarmament discussion by heads of state.

'Community of Fear'

THE CENTER for the Study of Democratic Institutions, established by the Fund for the Republic, last month published a provocative pamphlet, entitled **Community of Fear,** in which Caltech geochemist Harrison Brown in collaboration with James Real deals with the nature of the arms race and the likely consequences of its perpetuation. The pamphlet has drawn much attention here and abroad. It may be obtained by writing to the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Box 4068, Santa Barbara, Calif., or to The Fund for the Republic, 133 E. 54th St., New York 22. Single copy free; prices for additional copies provided by the Center or the Fund on request.

To many UN delegates, however, the disarmament discussions had an unreal quality in the light of repeated calls by Kennedy and Nixon during the campaign for more and deadlier nuclear weapons and more foreign bases to surpass Soviet strength. This was in effect a call for an intensified arms race rather than a promise to search for ways to disarmament.

THE BOMB BOYS: These same UN members noted that, even as they were discussing disarmament, forces in the U.S. opposed to any East-West agreement had started a new smear campaign against the Soviet Union to buttress their demand for nuclear test resumption. University of California physicist Edward Teller—the putative father of the H-bomb—told the Air Force Assn. that the Soviets may well have continued tests and "we have no technical means to check" on their self-imposed ban.

AEC Commissioner Dr. Robert Wilson hinted at "recent indications of some explosions in Russia." AEC chairman McCone "surmised" that the Soviets "must be" secretly testing while disarmament discussions were going on. All three have been pressuring the U.S. to resume tests.

While it was dismissing Soviet disarmament proposals at the UN as "propaganda," the U.S. was indulging in a provocative Marine and "mock invasion" maneuvers "holiday" at its Guantanamo base in Cuba. It also signed an agreement with Britain for a Polaris submarine support base at Holy Loch on the Firth of Clyde in Scotland. The agreement left the U.S. free to launch Polaris missiles without prior consultation with London. This was in keeping with U.S. Naval Operations Chief Adm. Arleigh Burke's categorical statement a few days earlier that Polaris submarines "can be dispersed without regard for problems of foreign sovereignty, or bases, or rights of transit."

COMMUNITY OF FEAR: Most disturbing to many UN members were the statements made by Harrison Brown, noted geochemist at the California Institute of Technology, and his collaborator, James Real, in the **Community of Fear** pamphlet. The authors said the scientist-technician and the military have developed a vested interest in the continuation of the arms race which may already have reached a point of no return, and with progressive "breakthroughs" on new weapons systems and greater defense expenditures, there would be no turning back.

They said "there are domestic forces . . . that commit us more absolutely each day to the path away from effective arms control—not to speak of actual disarmament." As Moscow acquires a more clearly dominant military position in the next decade and the West feels under increasing psychological pressure everywhere, they declare that there would be a greater "likelihood of desperate, erratic, unauthorized action by U.S. and allied forces . . . than the chance of similar breaches of discipline by the Soviets."

The authors note "a military elite emerging in the U.S. which is dedicated to a position of perpetual hostility toward the Soviet Union and which wields enormous political power." To them it seems "obvious that major steps must be taken aimed at eliminating the retaliatory systems and bringing the arms race under control . . . If things continue the way they are going, the possibility of **a coup** by the U.S. military is real."

MODEST PROPOSALS: The first stage of disarmament proposed by the Soviet Union calls for "eliminating the retaliatory systems" by simultaneous elimination of foreign bases and all vehicles that might carry nuclear weapons. Since chances look slim that the current UN session will give effective directives for a disarmament agreement, several members have proposed more modest steps which, if adopted, would enhance the possibility of a future agreement.

Among these are (1) Polish Foreign Minister Rapacki's renewed suggestion for a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe; (2) the Ghana-Guinea proposal for declaring Africa a "neutral zone" in which all nuclear tests would be prohibited and foreign military bases would be liquidated; (3) the Cambodia-Laos recommendation to declare a neutralized zone status for their states; (4) Ireland's resolution calling on the nuclear powers not to give any nuclear weapons to others; and (5) a resolution against the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons in war offered by seven African nations (Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan and Tunisia) which declared such use to be a "crime against mankind."

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The Cuban exiles

(Continued from Page 1)

strike soon, before the sugar workers return to the fields later this month. There are armed groups training in Guatemala and in the Dominican Republic. Some military training is also going on in Florida.

Without Washington's support, the counter-revolutionary army is a paper tiger. There are some 50 exile groups in the U.S. by latest count. An accurate estimate is impossible; new groups form and old ones fold almost every week. Besides a desire to overthrow Castro, they have only this in common: none has a mass following and each includes at least one leader who, at the proper signal, would lay aside personal modesty and accept the Premiership of the next Cuban government. Many groups have two or three such self-proclaimed heirs and each cocks an ear toward Washington for the signal.

THE CATEGORIES: The exiles can be sorted roughly into two categories: those who flourished under Fulgencio Batista's dictatorship and fled when Castro came; and those who opposed Batista and later defected from the Castro Revolution. The latter groups are backed by upper and middle class Cubans who lost their holdings to the agrarian reform and other nationalization moves.

The groups are in constant squabbles. Each insists it preaches the true faith, while the others are Batistianos (followers of Batista)—for most a worse designation than Fidelista (Castro follower).

Some of the groups include only talkers, but most are organized for action. They own arms, train men and send missions to Cuba to hide in the hills and await "the day." Some claim extensive underground troops and that they have infiltrated top Cuban ministries. Few reveal where they get financing. Some are headed by millionaires; others raise funds among Americans of Cuban descent. There are no accurate figures on how much comes from private American organizations or how much, if any, from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

THE FRONT: The best organized group is the Democratic Revolutionary Front, formed last June in Mexico City as an amalgam of five groups. Its official headquarters are in Mexico, but its main base is in Miami and it has regional offices in Washington, New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Sacramento and Reno.

The Front is run by a committee of five, headed by Dr. Antonio Varona, who was Prime Minister in the Prio government in 1947. Other Front leaders held posts in the early Castro government.

Its program calls for overthrowing Castro, outlawing the Communist Party, "free elections within 18 months" and limiting government intervention in the Cuban economy.

Front headquarters in San Francisco are run by Mrs. Isela Olis and her father Jose J. Garcias, whose $10,000,000 iron ore mines were taken over by the Castro government. "We want the help of anyone who desires to fight communism," Mrs. Solis said.

Sergio Aparicio, Front representative in New York, in an interview in the New York **Times** claimed an underground of 20,000, reaching into the Cuban army. "I can give a figure," he said, "because I traveled all over Cuba helping to organize it. We began on Jan. 6, 1959, five days after Castro took power."

In explaining why the Front will not merge with other groups, Aparicio said: "Every Cuban wants to be a leader. Each wants to head a group, however small. Then they want to be part of the Front, but each leader of a handful of friends wants the same status as the original committee members . . . Most of the leaders are Batistianos, but most of the followers are good, honest people . . . .

"Any movement that says it has as many as 200 members in New York is lying. We will have that many, but we do not yet, and nobody does."

MERGER FAILS: Six other groups met in New York in August to discuss merger and plan "military action" but they could not reach agreement. They were the Cuban Nationalist Assn., Cuban Anti-Communist Organization of New York, Christian anti-Communist Front, Cuban Constitutional Crusade, Cuban Democratic Revolutionary Group, and New Pines.

Alfredo Hernandez, head of the Cuban Anti-Communist Organization of New York, said: "No progress has been made by the committee and new groups keep turning up. There are so many that it is a joke. Some of them have hardly any members."

Some at the meeting said they would not merge because Hernandez, a former Consul General here, was a Batistiano. "Yes, I am a Batistiano," Hernandez said, "and I am proud of it. I was a career diplomat, not a criminal."

Efforts at merger have been no more successful in Miami, the center of exile activity. Dr. Miro Cardona, who was Ambassador-designate to the U.S. but who broke with Castro last July, was chairman at a meeting Oct. 25 of representatives of squabbling groups in Miami. A committee of six was organized to draft a program. Cardona is expected to head the new group if it gets organized. He told the meeting: "We should have only one purpose and thought now—to rid Cuba of Castro and the communists."

OTHER GROUPS: These are some of the other groups centered in Miami:

- **Cuba Liberation Union,** headed by Francisco Cajigas, a wealthy industrialist who flourished under Bastista. Cajigas deplores the guerrilla activities of other groups; he advocates full-scale invasion. Many shun Cajigas as a Batistiano, but he hired a public relations man to sell his case and to warn Americans against giving money to other groups.
- **Revolutionary Recovery Movement,** which took over a former Miami mansion as a "barracks," where 14 men are in military training.
- **Cuban National Army,** backed by former Sen. Rolando Masferrer, a close associate of Batista. The group includes a number of young American adventurers. It sent a 27-man "expeditionary force" to Cuba which was captured and executed last month.
- **Cruzada Femenina Cubana,** organized by Mrs. Anne Miller, a Cuban married to a U.S. citizen, to "awaken women to the horrors of communism in Cuba."
- **Peoples Revolutionary Movement (MRP),** led by Felipe Pazos, former president of the Cuban National Bank under Castro, Raul Chibas, who was once close to Castro, and Col. Ramon Barquin, military attache in Washington under Batista who later turned against the dictator.

The most vocal group in New York is the White Rose, headed by ex-Batista Sen. Rafael Diaz Balart. Ex-Batista Gen. Jose Pedraza heads a military unit of 300 in the Dominican Republic. The groups in Guatemala are also being trained by ex-Batista army officers.

CIVIC HEADACHE: The Cuban emigres have created problems for Miami officials. There are 40,000 Cubans in the city, 27,000 of them recent emigres. Many are penniless and do not speak English. The city welcomed them at first. They were a good source of cheap labor at the hotels. But as the recession hit the resort city, there were fewer jobs.

Many are on the city's relief rolls. Every day 300 line up at a Catholic Church bread line. The churches have found jobs for some, but there is no work for the rest. The city's crime rate has soared. Chief of detectives Roy Eddy said: "These people are in an economic squeeze and they turn to crime. As more and more arrive, they work for successively lower wages, leading to more crime."

While the Immigration Dept. admits all who apply and extends visas freely, Dr. Franklin Williams, head of the Miami Welfare Council, asked why the agency does not permit Cubans to leave Florida.

The unemployed Cubans are natural recruits for the counter-revolutionary army, particularly when they are promised fame, glory and a good job. After they are incited by their would-be generals, they are allowed to let off steam in military drills and raids on shops owned by pro-Castro Cubans.

DESPERATE MEN: The counter-revolutionaries stand little chance without money and arms from Washington. Even fully equipped, there is no evidence that they will find supporters in Cuba. Instead, they will run into the "people's militia." On Oct. 30, 250,000 members of the militia were given arms and organized into divisions. Cuban officials announced that they expect to have 1,000,000 men and women in the militia by the end of 1961. Premier Castro told the militia: "Your companies and battalions will have more fire power than any other similar units in any army in the world."

The weapons are likely to come from the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia, along with planes, tanks and anti-tank guns. The counter-revolutionaries may strike before the arms arrive. They are desperate men egged on by desperate and confused men in Washington.

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Social Science Forum starts 1960-1961 series Fri., Nov. 18, 8:30 p.m. **CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT,** Vice Chairman American Communist Party, speaks on "Our Road Ahead After the Elections," Chestnut & 13th Sts. Adm. $1, unemployed and students, 50c. Series will resume the 3rd Friday evenings in Jan., Feb., March, April. For further information, James Dolsen, 2018 N. 32 St., Phil. 21. Phone: CEnter 2-0512.

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SCOTT NEARING, "Can U.S.S.R. and China Work Together," Sun., Nov. 13, 8 p.m. sharp. Brighton Community Center, 3200 Coney Island Av., Brooklyn.

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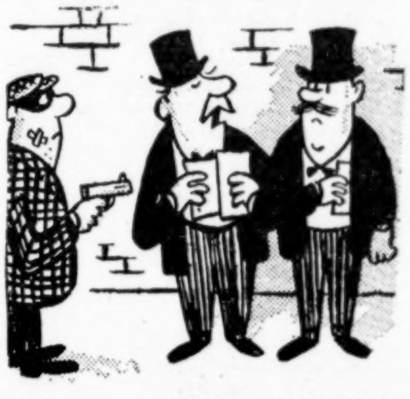
THE GALLERY

IT'S ALWAYS AN EYE-CATCHER to see "Yankees Welcome" scrawled on a wall. That was the thinking behind an ad in the **Wall Street Journal** by the Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi and New Orleans power and light companies. It was addressed to businessmen on whom "some areas in the world are turning . . . with hostile acts and words." The ad assured Yankee entrepreneurs that "The Middle South welcomes 'outside' capital." . . . For early Christmas shoppers, Designers House in New York is offering a "hangover hat" of "transparent aquamarine vinyl, light and pliable with a permanently sealed-in thermo fluid that retains temperature. It can be kept in the freezing compartment of the refrigerator ready for use as a cool cap on your aching head." Only $4.95 plus postage . . . Ross Flanagan told a peace rally in San Francisco on Oct. 29: "Now is the time for all good men to come to." . . . The Freedlander Research & Development Labs in Hawthorne, Calif., have come up with a great discovery, but too late to do us any good. It is waterproof, urethane plastic foam to be sprayed in and around foxholes to keep out mud and water . . . The **Wall Street Journal** carried a "help wanted" ad for a "flavor salesman." . . . Skiatook, Okla., must be a nice place to live. The town's operating budget is $41,365, but it won't levy any taxes to meet it this year. The town-operated electrical utilities brought in enough money to cover the budget.

AIR FRANCE'S NEW YORK to Paris jet flight is now called the "Epicurean of the Atlantic." The company's press agents figured out that passengers will spend one-third of the seven-hour trip eating . . . The November **Reader's Digest** carried this item: "A state civil defense planning agency recently received this letter: 'Dear Sirs: We noted in your recent publication of prime target areas that our city was not listed. It is our opinion that this city with its industry and residential areas is as vital an area as any published in the list. Please consider revising the plan to include our city in the list of prime targets for nuclear attacks. (Signed) Chamber of Commerce, Progress Committee.' ". . . Matchbooks circulating in Anne Arundel County, Md., were imprinted on the front cover: "Re-elect Ira E. Wolcott, Republican candidate for Sheriff." On the back, they read: "Vote Democratic." . . . A New York delicatessen during the campaign featured a "Henry Cabot Lox" sandwich . . . Mrs. Sheila Tanner sued her husband for divorce in London, last month, charging him with cruelty. Mrs. Tanner, who described her political views as "a shade to the right of center," said her husband kept her awake nights reading aloud from the London **Daily Worker.** In denying her motion, Justice Karminski said: "I cannot see anything in the husband's conduct which even faintly approaches cruelty."



Eccles, London Daily Worker

"While I think of it, Philpott, here's that fifty quid I borrowed from you last month."

ROBERT CARSON WROTE in **Holiday** magazine: "Missionaries had a bigger share in the development of Hawaii than you might offhandedly suppose. In the course of over a century, a number of them gave up the spiritual care of the heathen and became substantial landowners and businessmen. People still express resentment toward them. A familiar saying runs: 'In the beginning the missionaries had the Bible and the natives the land, but before long the natives had the Bible and the missionaries had the land.' ". . . Six Hungarian "freedom fighters" were arrested in Montreal last month, charged with shouting "down with the Jews" and "Hitler is coming" during an anti-Semitic demonstration . . . Howard Masters, Grand Cyclops of the Ku Klux Klan in Osceola County, Fla., was arrested on charges of stealing pigs . . . Someone goofed in Miami. The city's new port program called for clearing one of the small islands in Biscayne Bay. But after crews had cleared four acres on an island, they discovered that it was the wrong one. Port Director Arthur Barlow was the most embarrassed. At the dedication ceremony he was tossed in the bay — from the wrong island.

—Robert E. Light

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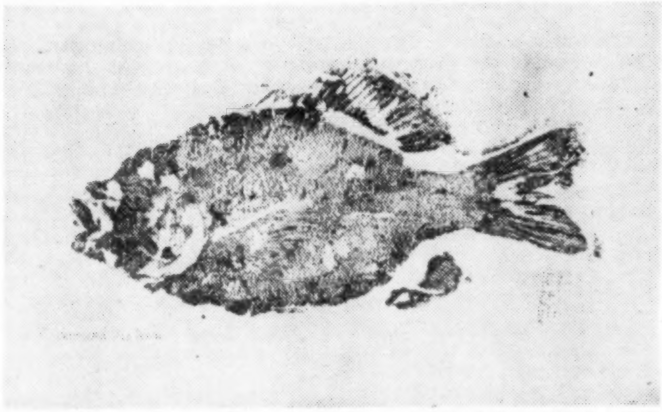

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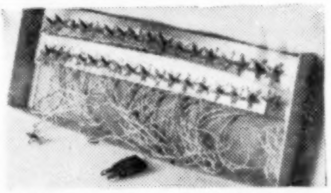

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